/5 cont./

551 614 The great majority of the native surnames could not be translated by our informants, who asserted that they did not signify anything in the Tzeltal language. Those for which we could obtain the meaning are: Chan ... snake, of the Ijká clán; Chij ... deer, of the Chik clan; Uax ... wildcat, of the Boj clan; Chikin ... ear, of the Chik clan; and Lot ... lie /Sp. mentira, lie, story, error/, of the Ijká clan.

428 424 551 613 614 The surnames are inherited through the paternal line and constitute the lineages within each clan. The lands formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated. This custom is tending to disappear in recent times, but even today we have found several cases in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when one has died without leaving male descendants.

166 551 553 614 A native from another municipality or group who comes to Cancuc with the aim of settling down in it must be incorporated into one of the clans, for which it is necessary to change his native surname for a Cancuc one. (The different native groups of this central region of the State of Chiapas have surnames that differ among themselves, and it is through them that their place of origin is shown.) Generally he keeps the Spanish surname and takes a native surname that in Cancuc corresponds to that. One Gómez Tzima from Oxchuc became Gómez Uotán of the Chejeb clan of Cancuc. One Aguilar belongs to the Chik clan, like all the Aguilar of Cancuc. One Santis Kujul, the small son of an Oxchuquero and a woman from Cancuc, gave up his surname from Oxchuc when his father died and his mother's family incorporated him into the Ijká clan, changing the native surname Kujul for that of Lul, "so that he will be from here, and have his chapomales here, and marry here," his maternal aunt of the Chik clan explained to us. These cases are rare. We could not find out before whom these incorporations are carried out. One informant, born [889] in Cancuc, whose paternal grandfather /6/ had come from the municipality of Tenejapa, told us that he had heard his father say that "in the old times the old people arranged that."

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.462-B]

their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or godparental, relations with them.

Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were committed by immediate consanguineal or affinal relatives of the victim. The high frequency of killings involving brothers or brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of high tension in these relationships. Male siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest cooperating group. Cooperation between brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or sons and fathers, are the only relationship pairs who work the milpa in common and share the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal division of land and house to both male and female offspring, means that brothers-in-law are potentially equivalent in the competition for goods as well as in their obligation to cooperate. A man kills his sister's husband if the husband is abusive to the woman or to members of the family (two cases). The brother figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also as the man who avenges one's own death (case 18, Table 1). When someone has been killed for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to accept the verdict or to avenge the killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

463 241 handle the milpa. It is rare to find an Indian who does not have a milpa since this is the work that ensures his existence.

Property Rights

423 613 [177] [181] This is a matter that varies according to the degree of acculturation reached by the community. In the most conservative groups (Oxchuc, Cancuc, Tenejapa, Tenango) there are still family property rights, but they seem to depend on lineage rather than on the immediate family (Villa Rojas, 562 1947, ch. 19). As these lineages are patri- ● 428 lineal, a woman does not count when inheritance is involved. She can own her parcel of land only when she has saved the money to buy it, but this is not frequent. Any man can claim lands that previously belonged to his lineage; it is enough to give back the money paid for them two or three generations ago. Of course, he has to prove by witnesses or documents that those lands were the property of his lineage.

127 423 613 614 According to a document dated 1861, which I found in the possession of the Gómez Ichiloks (they belong to the Gómez clan and to the Ichilok lineage), residents of the paraje of Tzajalchen of the municipio of Oxchuc, this property system seems to be very ancient. The document is of special interest.

000 DOCUMENTO DE TIERRAS DE LOS GÓMEZ ICHILOK A

Por pedimento de los ciudadanos Domingo Gómez Ichilok, Tomás Gomez Ichilok, otro Tomás Gómez Ichilok, Miguel Gómez Ichilok, Diego Gómez Ichilok, otre, Domingo Gómez Ichilok, otro Diego Gómez Ichilok y su hijo Diego Gómez Ichilok y por último su hijo menor Manuel Gómez Ichilok, y como antiguamente se acostumbra en este pueblo que segun los hermanos de una propria familia, se les demarca un retazo de terreno de ejido para que en lo sucesivo no haya pleitos con los vecinos como suele suceder, nosotros los Gobernadores, Auxiliares, Justicias, Escribanos y Testigos, pasamos al paraje denominado Tzajalchén a

[P. 211-A]

A /For a translation by H.R.A.F. of this document, see category 116, p. 225-C--Analyst/

423 592 [184] In the most acculturated communities (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father decides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[428]

[613] [593] At this level the lineage concept has disappeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 586 Family land as well as the house and its equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

613 than three or four generations. In the past, these lineages were localized, and in places like Bachajon, Cancuc, and Oxchuc the exact locations are still remembered.

613 769 798 A few generations ago, the most distinguished members of each lineage were buried in the cave after which the paraje was named, the bones and ashes of the dead being placed in large jugs or urns. The caves were places for ceremonies honoring the ancestors. Blom (1954) made a study of these burials and mapped the distribution of the sites. These caves are still places for worship but not for burials; the cross protecting all members of the lineage is kept there, as well as, in some instances, small crosses belonging to the important members of it (Villa Rojas, 1946, p. 16).

614 The words *chapomal* and *tijinabal* name the members of the clan in general. It is said that "the neighbors of this paraje are all chapomales," or "those cannot get married because they are chapomales." Tijinabal also means neighbor or member of the same paraje. Another word, *patshunk*, is also an equivalent of tijinabal. These words are currently used in Oxchuc, Cancuc, and Bachajon. On the other hand, there is no specific word to designate the lineage.

[835] [574] The main function of the clan is to regulate marriage, as the union of two chapomales is considered incestuous. The clan also gives much self-confidence to the Indian who travels to other parajes, for he can always find hospitality among people of his own clan. It also has a function of social control, exercised by the old men of the group, who punish all transgressors against the established rules. Helped by the nagual (supernatural spirit), they find out about the behavior of the members of the clan and punish according to the crime (Villa Rojas, 1947).

614 626 887

613 428 The lineage relationship is also important in inheritance (especially land), since the plots should always be under the control of individuals of the same Indian name. Only where such persons are absent or missing or

[P 215-A]

613 [428] have no interest in the land is preference given to the chapomales of other lineages. The importance of the lineage is stressed again during events such as curing ceremonies, conflicts, weddings, burials, fiestas, or banquets, where members of the same lineage should be invited first, then the chapomales.

601 The Omaha type of terminology still predominates in the more conservative municipios, where the same names are used for children of the father's sister as well as for children of the ego's sister, while children of the mother's brother are considered to be uncles and aunts on the matrilineal side (Murdock, 1949, p. 102; Guiteras Holmes, 1947, pp. 13–15; J. Nash, 1959, pp. 4–7).

The name *kichan*, given to the mother's brother, is also given to all the patrilineal descendants, stressing the concept that they are regarded as persons from another clan.

The most common kin terms collected in Cancuc by Guiteras Holmes (1947, p. 8) and in Oxchuc by Siverts (1955, pp. 16–20) are practically the same.

Tzeltal	*English*
Bankil	older brother of a man
Xibel	older brother of a woman
uish	older sister; father's sister
Kitzin	youngest brother or sister
Tat	father
Me	mother
Nichán	a man's children
Kaal	a woman's children
Ta-jun	father's brother
Mee-jun	mother's sister
Nicha-jun	the children of a man's brother
Kaal-jun	the children of a woman's sister
Kichán	mother's brother; children of a man's sister
Cha-mam	a man's grandchildren
Kil-al	a woman's grandchildren
Mam	grandfather
Meel-kuj	grandmother
Mamalal	husband
Kinam	wife
Bal	a man's brother-in-law
Jauan	a woman's sister-in-law
Mu	siblings-in-law of opposite sex

[P. 215-B]

[Text continues on p. 216-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the community would buy it.

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the interest payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each successive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple: equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent disputes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the Department of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately

3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eighteen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier families tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorrigible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particular, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer expected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and animals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their possessions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person conversing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed" or "so it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo?ontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) occurred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts. Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition, they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

(see pp.245-247..Analyst)

592 606 hierarchical order of authority. The following example illustrates this social ordering:

159 591 592 Maria was the daughter-in-law of Margarita, a woman married to Juan Perez, one of the village elders. The sons of Juan Perez and all the daughters had left the compound after marriage, with the exception of Felix, the last son, who was Maria's husband. The couple had decided to stay in the parental house until the death of Felix's parents, and they were promised the inheritance of the sitio as a recompense for their willingness to support Juan and Margarita in their old age (see Fig. 9).

159 592 439 602 Maria had been fattening a pig, which Juan had decided to sell, and he had been talking about it with a Ladino merchant who was anxious to buy it, but who wanted to pay a lower price for it than Juan was willing to accept.

One afternoon, while the men were in the fields and Margarita was outside the compound gathering firewood, Maria was visited by a Ladino merchant who insisted on taking the pig with him. He offered to pay a price which Maria was not sure was already arranged between the merchant and her father-in-law. She discussed it with him, refusing to give up the animal, until her sister-in-law, Felix's elder sister, arrived to visit her mother.

When Felix's sister arrived, Maria retired from the discussion, and left the elder woman to carry the burden of the interaction.

After a while, Margarita came back with her load of firewood, and she took up the discussion while both her daughter and daughter-in-law conversed among themselves after Crecencia

592 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 582 Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) 593 should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his 428 wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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592 [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

593 156 62 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] [591] [606] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

114 591 593 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

183 591 [428] The results of this analysis indicate a statistically significant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME. MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

	Man				Woman			
	Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent		Cases	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent	
Same block	10	56	84	100	3	14	38	76
Adjacent block	5	28			5	24		
Same barrio	3	16	16		8	38	38	
Different barrio	. . .	. . .	. . .		3	14	24	
Other town	. . .	. . .			2	10		
Total Sample	18	100			21	100		

593 Independently of the analysis of 139 geographical distribution
423 of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

TABLE 10

423 AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Cases	Percentage
House-land bought	22	32
House-land obtained through the husband's relatives	33	49
House-land obtained through the wife's relatives	11	16
Family borrowing the house	2	3
Total number of households for which information was available	68	100

423
432 The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed,
593 for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of
[183] the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of
[428] cash. Ideally, most parents think that they will give contiguous houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents'
423 death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before
432

[1] Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

423
432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
[428] is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

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591
578 The fission of the compound household into nuclear households is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

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592
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562 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." Another characteristic that makes this case [848] anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

591 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple
592 will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making [428] (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike [184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation; and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle" [693] (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that [592] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a [582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

591 593 361 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indicates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the difference needs to be explained.

174 591 It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had, in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although 591 428 483 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matrilineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viripatrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157]

TABLE 15

423 428 AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

	Number	Per Cent	Combined Per Cent
Inherited from the wife's relatives	78	30	30
Inherited from the husband's relatives	79	34	34
Bought	50	19	
Received from Ejido	27	10	30.5
Borrowing	4	1.5	
Inherited from husband	12	4.5	
Inherited from wife	1	.5	5.5
Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents	1	.5	
Total	262	100.0	100.0

591 428 423 433 593 The fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

121 593 previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

593 [184] The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the [434] [428] son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

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CHAPTER VII

CORPORATE GROUPS WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Historical Perspective

174 611 591 601 583 423 428 It is probable that the communities of Amatenango and Aguacatenango had, at some time in their past, a patrilineal organization based on agnatic descent, patri-virilocality, a kinship terminology of the Normal Omaha type, and other associated features such as bride-price, groom service, patrilineal control of the rights to land usufruct, and patrilineal inheritance.

174 613 614 621 626 Each agnatic descent group formed segments of a corporate lineage, and several segments formed a sib. Lineages were localized, and they had important social functions. The heads of linear segments formed the local government and had the responsibility of controlling conflict and sanctioning individual behavior through the supernatural. They were believed to "own" powerful animal counterparts of their souls, which patrolled the village during sleep, and punished the misdemeanors of those men belonging to their line of descent. It is also probable that the lineage was [582] an exogamous unit, and there is some scanty evidence which points to the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

127 The evidence to support this hypothetical statement is of two types. On the one hand, there is some historical documentation in published, as well as manuscript, form. On the other hand,

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613 murdered. Informants declare that "all the Mendeztik will get
476 together against the Perezetik if a Perez kills a Mendez." We have
626 witnessed cases of "talk of revenge," but never any case of the
627 lineal solidarity functioning in this way in practice. In a case
613 where the father of a man dies, it is within the agnatic line that
736 a man finds a sponsor to live with, to pay his bride-price, and to
613 work the land with. If there is conflict over an adulterous wife,
837 or over the distribution of an inheritance among brothers, it is the
428 duty of the elder members of the agnatic line to give advice, witness the distribution of the property, etc.

613 The patriline is not a land holding unit, in the sense that
423 there is no land that is said to belong to the line as a corporation, but the group of agnatically related men have control over the distribution of it, and its inheritance. If a man dies without adult sons, the closest agnatic kin (father, brother, or in some cases a father's brother if the other two are dead or have enough land) will take over the cultivated fields that he has left. According to the Mexican Agrarian Code, Ejido land can only be transmitted to people that live in the same domestic unit, and communal land cannot be transmitted at all: at the death of the person who held usufruct rights over a parcel, the land should revert to the Ayuntamiento, which has the power to re-distribute it as it considers convenient. In practice, in Aguacatenango, if the household fails to provide heirs, the parcels (both ejido and communal) are re-allocated among agnatic kin. Therefore, although the patriline does not "own" land, some land is allocated through linearity.

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593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

593 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and
598 authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

593 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened
598 his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not
754 given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his
428 wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

593 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than
598 inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's eco-
585 nomic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

593 578 585 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the fiesta which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his sitio and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[626] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 578 428 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.

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562 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial.
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598 All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usu-
fruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line
[183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an estab-
lished pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single.
592 She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspira-
593
562 tions are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to
554 marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large com-
428
434 pound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only
woman in the village which is in the same position), because she
works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the
household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large
salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent
on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound
with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should
inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his
father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for
Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it:
"she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence
about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the
household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in
[626] Amatenango. Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the
wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her
relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the
village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

OOOvillage), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

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156 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to
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578 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following example will also show.

Case 2

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428
562
578 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept
[592]
[606]
[587] it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]

159 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses
428 to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or
56
578 only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to
[606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop-
[736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[43] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159
422 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such
593 as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.
578

Case 3

When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received
[1131] a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

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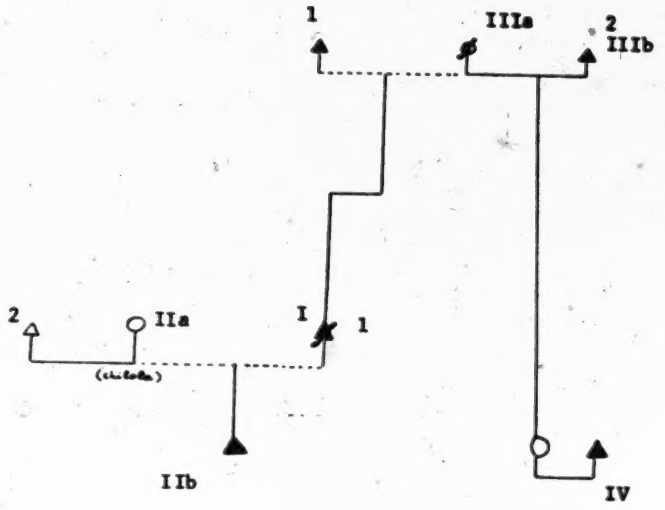

= men that claimed rights over the land.

I to IV indicate the order in which the land has been transmitted. The two men in the youngest generation are the ones contesting each other's rights.

Fig. 16.--Genealogy of Chilola M.

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
132 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
592 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
562 marginal property.
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[428]
[421]

(3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
184 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
182 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
462 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
434 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive ac-
591 tivities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is
alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males
and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, house-
[323] holds that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are
[241] uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the do-
mestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital
patri-virilocal residence of their members.

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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184 182 428 593 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Aguacatenango, to support each other at different stages of the developmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 182 582 591 556 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 182 462 476 593 (6) The relative importance of men versus female cooperative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.

[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative [607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 593 578 571 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relationships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the [613] presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational

184 593 578 591 613 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few collaterals.

184 36 592 476 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each village follows the social propinquity established in terms of economic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango residence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 59 •428 562 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

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and daughter, and the transmission of property in a bilateral fashion, is a kinship unit of the utrolateral type (Goody, 1958: 26) with alternate patri-uxorilocal and patri-virilocal residence.

Among the people of Amatenango, at least one child of the nuclear family stays at home after marriage, sons or daughter being equally good choices for the perpetuation of the domestic group. In this way, the Amatenango family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of bilateral order, which extends itself territorially in a bilateral fashion, and perpetuates itself through the principle of ultrolateral ultimogeniture..

The structuring of the domestic groups as corporate units of a clearly different order is intimately connected with the rules by which residence sponsors are chosen.

1. In Aguacatenango, male sponsors are always preferred over females, independently of the sex, age, or marital status of the individual, while in Amatenango, where women are economically capable of being residence sponsors, they are selected as such as often as males.

2. In Aguacatenango, consanguineal sponsors are preferred over affinals or self (neolocality), except for married women, while in Amatenango, married men prefer affinals as much as married women do, under certain conditions.

3. In both villages, residence with a kinsman is preferred to neolocality, usually a kinsman from whom certain economic rights can be claimed (land, house, etc.).